DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 051 882 PS 004 810

AUTHOR Orost, Jean H.
TITLE Racial Attitudes Among White Kindergarten Children From Three Different Environments.
INSTITUTION Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J.
REPORT NO ETS-RM-71-1
PUB DATE Jan 71
NOTE 27p.; Paper prepared for presentation at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, New York, February, 1971

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Behavior Patterns, Caucasians, *Childhood Attitudes, *Discriminatory Attitudes (Social), *Kindergarten Children, Negro Youth, Peer Relationship, Question Answer Interviews, Race Relations, *Racial Attitudes, *Racial Discrimination, Stress Variables
IDENTIFIERS Social Episodes Test

ABSTRACT

This research was initiated to determine whether the extent of a white child's first-hand contacts with black peers would influence his attitudes toward blacks. The subjects, 49 white, middle to upper class kindergarten children, all from two-parent homes with mothers who did not work outside the home, were divided into three groups: (A) children with no association with black children, (B) children with interracial contacts in school only, and (C) children with interracial contacts both in school and residential environment. The test used was the Social Episodes Test designed by Trager and Radke-Yarrow, but with pictures designed especially for this project. The three pictures shown and discussed were: (1) three white children playing and a black child approaching the group, (2) three white children playing, and (3) three white children and one black child playing together. An interview was conducted to determine the extent of the child's associations with and feelings toward black children. 79.7% of the sample displayed some form of tension after being shown the first picture. About half that number of children displayed tension after picture number three of racial harmony. Refusal to discuss picture number one was most prevalent among Group B subjects. Tension displayed by distraction was most evident among Group A subjects. (Author/AJ)

ED051882

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

G19

RM-71-1

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

RACIAL ATTITUDES AMONG WHITE KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN FROM THREE DIFFERENT ENVIRONMENTS

Jean H. Orost

PS 004810

Paper to be presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York City, February 1971.

Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey

January 1971

RACIAL ATTITUDES AMONG WHITE KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN FROM THREE DIFFERENT ENVIRONMENTS

Jean H. Orost[1]

"Will these children ask this little girl to play?"

"No, 'cause she's colored and white kids don't like to play with black colored kids. She is colored and they are white and they don't go together."

This was the response of a five-year-old kindergarten boy, faced with the picture of several white children playing together, while a black girl approached them. Unfortunately, his response was not atypical. Consider this little girl's response when asked whether the black girl wanted to go on the swings with the other children:

"No, because when she is a colored girl, she goes on the swing and the swings get dirty. She doesn't want to go."

These are only two examples of responses recorded recently in interviews designed to determine the extent of racial prejudice among white kindergarten children. Previous research had established that children become aware of racial differences, with a virtually concurrent emergence of preferences and assignation of stereotyped roles, at about ages four and five (Abel, 1962; Goodman, 1964; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Williams & Roberson, 1967). It was also shown that racial attitudes were derived primarily through parental example, in the same way that the child became acquainted with all aspects of his culture. Also influential in establishing early attitudes were neighbors, playmates, observation of institutionalized prejudice, the schools, and, above all, the mass media, especially television (Clark, 1955; Goodman, 1964; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Reddick, 1965; Wilson, 1958).

Gordon Allport (1954) had stated the contact hypothesis simply: If not deeply rooted in the character of the individual, prejudices can be reduced by increased equal status contact between groups working in pursuit of common goals. This would suggest, then, that those children with greater positive interracial contacts would tend to be less prejudiced. Trager and Radke-Yarrow (1952), who studied prejudice in primary grade children of lower middle class background, found, however, that the presence or absence of black children in their classrooms seemed to bear no relation to the children's degree of hostility. In fact, working with older children, who might be assumed to have more deeply established attitudes, Webster (1961) found that school integration produced significantly less acceptance of blacks after several months of contact. Since he found that children whose contacts with blacks had increased in the school setting tended to become more prejudiced, he called for a reevaluation of the contact hypothesis. His conclusion was that, in order to produce any significant lessening of prejudice, it would be necessary to integrate the total social environment of children, especially the residential environment.

Consequently, the question which the current research sought to answer was whether the extent of a white child's actual first-hand contacts with black peers would be influential in determining his attitudes toward blacks. Would a child who lived in an all white neighborhood and attended an all white kindergarten be any more or less prejudiced than a child who lived in a similar white neighborhood, but attended an integrated school? How would each of these groups compare with children who both lived and attended school in an integrated setting?

Method

Subjects

The 49 children in the sample were all white kindergarten children, attending school for their first year, living with both parents of middle to upper class backgrounds, and with mothers who did not work outside the home. They were divided into three groups:

Group A--Children without associations with black children, living in a white suburb, attending an all white kindergarten.

Group B--Children with interracial contacts in school only, attending integrated kindergarten (at least 10% black), but with no out-of-school contacts with black children.

Group C--Children with interracial contacts both in school and in the residential environment.

Procedure

Three interviewers met the children informally and introduced the use of the tape recorder to them in the classroom setting some days before the interviews began. Subsequently, those children selected as subjects were interviewed individually in a testing room within each school, and their responses recorded. Initial rapport was established through play with toys and conversation. Introductory questions about the child and his family were asked and the child was invited to sing a song or recite a poem onto the tape. This part was then replayed for the child to hear, at which point he was usually relaxed enough to continue with the interview.

The test used was the Social Episodes Test, designed by Trager and Radke-Yarrow, but with pictures drawn specifically for this project.[2] The first

part of the test was the Racial Barrier Picture, which portrayed a group of white children playing together on a swing set in the background while a black girl was walking in the foreground. Questions were designed to elicit comments about what was happening in the picture, why the lone child wasn't playing, if she would like to play, and whether the other children were going to ask her to play. Next, if the child had not already mentioned it (over 90% had not), the racial distinction between the children was brought out by the interviewer, followed by a repetition of many of the same questions.[3] The subjects were also asked whether the black child was glad she was colored, if she would sometimes want to be white, and whether the subject himself was glad he was white.

The Race Barrier Picture was followed by an intermission picture, neutral in nature, showing three white children playing together, and designed to alleviate tension as well as to prevent too great a carry-over from the context of the first race related picture to that of the second, presented subsequently. A few questions calling for picture interpretation and conjecture were raised.

The final picture used, which again followed the Trager and Radke-Yarrow set of questions, was the Race Non-Barrier Picture, showing four children--one black and three white--playing together in a sand box. Again initial questions designed to elicit the child's interpretation were followed by the identification of one child as black, with subsequent questions designed to determine what the children were going to do next and whether they were friends.

Following this, a brief interview was conducted to determine by direct questioning the extent of the child's associations with and feelings toward black children. He was asked if there were colored children in his school

class or in his home neighborhood, and if so, whether he played with them. If not, would he like to have black classmates or playmates and why. Subsequently, in an attempt to determine the extent to which verbal attitudes corresponded to behavior, the examiners talked informally with the children's teachers, observed for two days in the classrooms, anecdotally recording interracial contacts, and constructed a sociogram for each class after asking each child to name two classmates they best liked to play with.

Results

Tension

Many children had learned that race is generally a taboo topic of discussion, and this feeling appeared in the interviews through various observable symptoms of tension. These instances of tension took several forms: resistance or unwillingness to answer questions, fidgeting, nail biting, curling up pictures, heavy or irregular breathing, excessive giggling, distraction with the toys provided, getting off the subject, and open rebellion. Introductory conversation and play aimed at building rapport before beginning each interview had continued until the child appeared relaxed and verbal. Pronounced change in behavior, as listed above, occurring with the introduction of the Race Barrier Picture was interpreted as displaying tension. In all, 39 subjects, or 79.7% of the sample, displayed some form of tension at some time after being confronted with the Race Barrier Picture, in Part I of the interview. As shown in Table 1 a total of 34 children demonstrated tension related to that picture, and five of them remained so shaken that their tension carried over to the neutral intermission picture which followed in Part II. Next followed the Race Non-Barrier Picture, in Part III of the

PS004810

interview, which, by its nature suggesting interracial harmony, gave rise to displays of tension by only 18 children, or about half of the earlier number.

There were four types of tension displayed, of which the most prevalent was resistance or unwillingness to talk about the race related pictures. This resistance ranged from 37% of the children resisting discussion of the Race Barrier Picture to 4% for the Non-Barrier Picture. Examples of this type of behavior were refusal to answer questions, repeated use of "I don't know" responses, focusing on inanimate objects in the picture and refusing to discuss the central figure, and handing the picture back to the experimenter. Resistance was most prevalent among Group B subjects, representing 50% of the sample. In all these cases, children had been talking freely with the interviewer and answering neutral questions before being asked the race related questions.

The second most common type of tension was evidenced by distractions, such as playing with the toys used earlier, dropping things on the floor, or focusing attention on objects about the room in response to direct questioning. In all, 12% of the children used this device in conjunction with the first picture, and 10% with the last picture, dropping to about half that number for the neutral intermission picture. This type of behavior was most common for children in Group A, those with no interracial contacts.

The observable signs of nervousness, such as fidgeting, nail biting, irregular breathing, and excessive giggling, represented a third form of tension, being apparent in 11% of the children for Part II and 8% for Part IV. Here again, Group A predominated with frequencies of 27% and 20% respectively. One child's description of his feelings was unique:

> You know, this thing is making me like handcuffs. This thing I'm thinking about. It's making me tight, like when I'm asleep. Thinking about when the hands are coming, all cut off. (He goes on to describe his own and his brother's nightmares about snakes, devils, and bogeymen.) (Subject number C-16)

The fourth type of behavior, evidenced especially by Group B, was the technique of changing the subject, found in 8% of the responses. Examples:

> E: Why isn't she playing?
> S: I think she has a scissors and is gonna cut these flowers out. One day I looked in the newspaper and I saw this lady, and she was in a accident...(Subject number C-10)

> E: Is this little girl glad she's colored?
> S: I just don't know (giggles). The sky is blue and the bushes are sort of grayish green. (Subject number B-21)

When comparing tension for the three groups of subjects, there are no significant differences between those with varying amounts of interracial contact. Group A, however, tended to exhibit the greatest stability of response, while the other two groups evidenced a greater attrition of tension over time. Group B children, those who had only recently, and only in a school setting, begun to have interracial contacts, evidenced the greatest amount of initial resistance (48%). However, as soon as the topic of race had been introduced openly in an atmosphere of acceptance, this resistance dropped drastically (to 4%).

Stereotypes

Allport defines a stereotype as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category," the function of which is to justify conduct with respect to that category (1954, pp. 191, 204). As such, the use of verbal stereotypes can sometimes be viewed as symptomatic of underlying prejudice. Allport's list of stereotypes commonly applied to blacks was used for comparison with the interview data.

As indicated in Table 2, half the children used stereotypes at some point in the interview. The most frequent comments indicated a belief that blacks were aggressive. Several examples from the concluding questionnaire follow:

> E: Do you often play with (the colored children in your class)?
> S: No, 'cause they hit. (B-23)
>
> E: Would you like to live near colored children?
> S: No, because if you build anything, they would throw anything, and if we had a hamburger, they would come over and get it. (A-48)
>
> E: Have you ever been in a colored child's house?
> S: No, I wasn't never at a stranger's house. 'Cause my mommy says when a stranger has money or cookies or a big toy in their hand, they'll take you by the arm up to their house and cut you all up. (C-18)

The next most frequently mentioned stereotypes were grouped under the heading of troublesome or mean and included such remarks as "they don't know how to play," "they're too mean," "they always boss me around," "some of them are ejectous (sic)...That means they don't like you." A few children also stated that the black girl wasn't playing because she was angry or mad at the other children. Another word used with obviously negative connotations was the term "black" as illustrated:

> E: Do you often play with them?
> S: No, I don't even play with them, 'cause I don't like. My family hates them, too, 'cause they all tell me...'Cause they're black. And that isn't their favorite color. (giggles) (B-14)
>
> E: Do any colored children live near you?
> S: No. We had to move out of a place because it was all black. And my mother calls them black crows, and they ain't black crows, are they? (A-48)

The use of an un-American connotation is best illustrated by the child who responded to the question, "Would he sometimes want to be white," with "Yes, because he wants to live in America." (B-1) Other children answered the

same question with, "because he wants to be clean," or "just plain," or "She likes to go on the swing. When she white, she won't get the swing that dirty."

When the use of stereotypes is analyzed by groups, it appears that those children with the least contact and those with the most contact both used more stereotypes than the B group. This is difficult to explain, but it may be related again to the fact that the Group B children were so resistant to discuss race and may have been coached to be on guard against such language. Unfortunately, this is only conjecture and should be more fully investigated.

Race Barrier Picture

The Race Barrier Picture involved two stimuli concerning race. The first and weaker of the two was the complexion of the child in the foreground of the picture. The second and stronger stimulus came with the identification and classification of the children as colored and white by the examiner. Those children who made mention of race or color after the first stimulus only, constituted 8.2% of the sample, or four children, none of them in Group A.

An interesting comparison can be made between answers to two questions which were asked both before color had become an open topic and again after identification had been made. On the first question, when asked why the central girl isn't playing, none of the children mentioned color, while three children said the others don't want her. When, after the designation of color the same question was repeated later, four children stated that she wasn't playing because she was colored and eight stated that the other children didn't want her, or wouldn't let her. A second question asked, "Why don't they ask her to play?" Before racial identification, three high awareness children stated that they didn't ask her because she was colored, while

over a fourth of the subjects stated that the white children didn't want her. Later, after color designations had been established, when asked if they were going to ask her to play, 56.3% stated no, about a third of them citing color and another third citing dislike or strangeness as the reason for their statement. There were no significant differences between the three groups with respect to these answers.

The children were asked whether the black girl was glad that she was colored and whether she wished she were white. Over half of the Group A and Group B children said that the girl was glad she was colored, many of them giving the euphemistic reason that she likes to be colored but an equal number not knowing any reason (see Table 3). The children in Group C, who had the most contact with black children, saw being black as an unfortunate circumstance to a greater degree than the children in the other groups. In answer to the question, "Would she sometimes want to be a white girl?", every member of Group C answered affirmatively (and verbally), while four children in the other groups dissented. The most popular reasons for this preference, for that one-third who stated one, was that then she could play or be like the other children.

The differences in the numbers responding positively to both these questions seem to suggest a degree of inconsistency. Many children seemed to be saying yes, she's glad she's colored, but yes, she would like to be white. This is only one example of the inconsistency observed in the answers. For example, 66.7% of the children stated that she will ask them to let her play because she wants to play, but over 39% stated that she is not playing because she doesn't want to play. Quite a few children, then, gave contradictory answers throughout the interview, which is consistent with the typical

inconsistency of five-year-olds, but is also perhaps indicative of increased uncertainty and stress with respect to the topic of race.

The children were next asked whether they themselves were glad they were white. Only one child out of the total sample stated that he did not know whether he was glad to be white, and this particular child was the one who had been so upset by the picture itself that he answered "I don't know" to seven successive questions, ending by giving the picture back to the tester. All other children responded that they were glad they were white, although over half of them merely nodded their heads. In contrast, almost a quarter of the children stated in the next question that they would sometimes want to be colored, the other three-quarters being just as sure that they did not want to be colored, many emphatically so. Here are a few examples of these questions and responses:

E: Are you glad you are a white boy?
S: Yeah, because I didn't wanta grow up like a colored boy. Because I grow up like I'm white, so other children should be white. (C-18)

E: Are you glad that you're a white boy?
S: Well, yeah, 'cause you know why? 'Cause I'm Jewish, that's why! Ha! (C-42)

E: Would you sometimes like to be a colored girl?
S: (nods yes) 'Cause I would look pretty. (B-12)

E: Would you sometimes want to be a colored boy?
S: No! (very emphatic) I wanta stay the color that I am. (C-15)

When comparing the three sample groups with respect to preference for being white, there are few differences, except that those children in Group A, who had no contact with black children, displayed what may be construed as a kind of curiosity by stating with more frequency than any other group that they would sometimes want to be colored (33.3%).

Race Non-Barrier Picture

After discussion of the neutral intermission picture designed to divert attention from the topic of race, each child was asked to tell about the Race Non-Barrier Picture. This picture portrayed one black child and three white children playing together in a sand box. Similar questions were asked about this picture in order to investigate not only the effect of picture content on response but also the flexibility or rigidity of racial attitudes. When asked if the children in the picture were friends, 82% of the children answered affirmatively, but it is significant that 18% of the children stated that they were not friends, thus denying the content of the picture. One child explained his answer thus, "'Cause they're not talking to each other" (A-59), but most children could not give an explanation. One child explained that they were friends because they were in school, implying supposedly that in school at least one must be friendly with everyone (A-57). Half of the children denying the friendship belonged in Group A.

There were other instances in which the children denied the non-barrier. When the picture was first presented, one child described it in this way: "Sand. The colored boy is pulling the sand pail away..." (A-59). Over 12% of the children mentioned race upon this initial presentation, undoubtedly as a result of preconditioning by the earlier picture, and almost half made some concurring or elaborating comments as soon as the examiner made the racial identification. When asked what these children were going to do, several subjects responded in such a way as to deny the non-barrier:

S: Take those things away into their homes. (B-37)

S: Go to a sandbox where <u>some</u> children aren't. (A-59)

S: I think he's gonna put him (horse) in the barn. And I think he's (white boy) gonna mix the water and I think he's (black boy) gonna dump the water out. And he's (white boy) gonna say "I'm not gonna play with you any more." (B-9)

This analysis of children who denied the non-barrier, as interesting and revealing as it is, should not, however, overshadow the most significant results of the Race Non-Barrier test. For undoubtedly, the greatest numbers of children viewed the situation favorably, with 82% stating that the children were friends, 69% stating that they were going to play together, and 23% stating that they liked each other.

In view of this, what would be the results of asking the children virtually the same questions as asked in Part I, as to whether the black child was glad he was colored or if he would like to be something else? It might be anticipated that the friendly context of the picture would lead more children to see being a black child in less disadvantageous terms. There was, in fact, an increase from 49% on the first picture to 56.3% on this picture who indicated that the boy was glad he was colored. The results indicated only slight variation between the two parts of the interview, tending to support the hypothesis that attitudes were rather fixed. The instances of denial of the non-barrier also tend to bear this out.

Questionnaire

Part IV of the interview consisted of several direct questions. Children were first asked if there were any colored children in their kindergarten class. Those who answered affirmatively were then asked if they often played with them. Few children gave an unqualified yes, but the majority did reply affirmatively. In Group B, however, 64% stated that they did not play with the black children in their class. When asked if they would like to have

colored children live near them, almost 60% of those children who did not live near black children replied negatively, while 36% answered yes. Those children who answered that they did live near black children all stated that they also played with them. Many children, especially those from Group B, who overcame their initial high resistance to become the most vocal group, made elaborating comments:

E. Do you often play with them?
S: No, because I don't like colored people. (B-1)
S: No, not most of the time. Most of the time I play with the tan ones. (Probably meaning the Puerto Rican children.) (B-11)
S: Mm, not too much. Because I don't know 'em that good. (B-7)

E: Are there any colored children who live near you?
S: No, 'cause we live in A____, and no coloreds live in A____. They only live in B____ (where child attends school). 'Cause my mother always goes down there and she always sees coloreds. (B-14)
S: Not in the country that we live in.
S: No, we had to move out of a place because it was all black...(A-48)

E: Would you like to have colored children live near you?
S: No, I like them, but I don't let them near me. (B-8)
S: Uh,unh. In our whole family we have white people. (B-1)
S: No, because they're too mean. They say curses. (C-18)

E: Have any colored children been in your house?
S: In my old house, not in my new house. Because we don't want them there in the new house. Just want my friends there. (A-48)
S: No, I have only white friends. (B-6)

Attitudes of Acceptance or Rejection

The responses to questions in Parts I, III, and IV of the interview were coded as rejecting, accepting, or neutral. Typical rejecting answers included such responses as she's not playing because they don't want her or won't let her, they don't ask her to play because they don't like her or simply because she is colored, and she won't ask them to let her play because they will say no. Accepting responses indicated the children's willingness to play together,

they like her, they will ask her to join them, or she's pretty. For Part I, the Racial Barrier Picture, a total of 43% of the responses were hostile, 25% were accepting, and 32% were neutral. The influence of the picture content can clearly be seen when these figures are compared with the responses to the Race Non-Barrier Picture in Part III. Here only 12% of the responses indicated feelings of hostility or rejection of the black child, while 73% were accepting and 15% were neutral.

The number of subjects making hostile or rejecting responses was compared with the total number of such responses, as shown in Table 4. It was found that 69% expressed rejection of the black girl in the first picture, while only 23% rejected the black child in the second picture, as would be expected from the picture context. However, 29 children, or 60% of the subjects, expressed hostility toward blacks in general in response to the questionnaire. The similarity in numbers of subjects from Groups A and B who expressed hostility both on the Race Barrier Picture and on the general questions contrasts with the responses of Group C children, who seemed to be more influenced by the specific picture content of the first picture than by their general perceptions about blacks.

Tests of significance ($p = .05$) indicated that there were significantly more children with no interracial peer contacts (Group A) expressing hostile attitudes than those who attended integrated schools while living in all white neighborhoods (Group B) or those who lived and attended school in an interracial environment (Group C). Comparisons of the numbers of rejecting responses made by Group A subjects revealed a mean of 2.4 hostile statements for each child for Part I (Race Barrier), 1.1 for Part III (Race Non-Barrier), and 1.5 for Part IV (Questionnaire). Interestingly, the few hostile Group C subjects

averaged more rejecting statements per child than either of the other groups, though the difference is significant only for the Race Barrier Picture.

Classroom Behavior

When considering the problem of classroom behavior relating to blacks, Group A was, of course, not dealt with, since these children had no school contacts with black children. However, when attitude versus behavior was compared in Groups B and C, some differences were readily apparent.

The children in these two groups were spread among four racially mixed kindergarten classes. The proportion of black to white children enrolled in these classes ranged from one-tenth to one-third. Sociometric data concerning verbalized choices of playmates revealed that 6% of both Groups B and C white subjects chose black classmates as one of their two choices, a proportion lower than chance expectancy. There were no differences between Groups B and C and three of the choices were reciprocal.

Observational data revealed distinct differences between those Group B children who lived in one close-knit suburban community and the rest of the Group B children whose homes were wider spread. The "suburbanite" group did not mix well with any of the other children, white or black, but tended to associate mainly with their neighborhood friends whom they had known for several years. With the rest of Group B and Group C, considerations of race did not seem to enter into their choice of playmates on the behavioral level, despite their low score for choice of black friends on a sociometric scale. There were only three children in both these groups combined who responded to the questionnaire that they did not play with their black classmates. In each of these instances, the particular child who made the statement did not play often or well with any other children in the class, white or black. In the cases of only two children, both in Group B, was any overt hostility present.

Discussion

The results of the study indicated that 70% of the children in the sample expressed racial prejudice as measured by verbal hostility or rejection in the interviews. The hypothesis that increased interracial contact had no significant effect on level of expressed prejudice was rejected, since significant deviations ($p = .05$) were found to exist. Children without interracial contacts expressed significantly more prejudicial attitudes than those whose contacts included both in-school and neighborhood contacts. Those with in-school contacts only had intermediate scores.

Tension regarding discussion of race was observed in 80% of the children, but it was apparently not clearly related to degree of prejudice, since it was observed in children with widely varying levels of expressed prejudice. This confirms Facen's (1962) study, which showed that discussion pertaining to blacks produced observable tension, but that this tension bore no relation to the students' attitudes.

Although the use of stereotypes cannot be presumed to be synonymous with prejudice, in this study the 53% of the children who used stereotypes generally accompanied them with statements of hostility or rejection.

Compared with children in the Trager and Radke-Yarrow study, and in the Goodman study, there did not appear to be as many children in the present investigation who exhibited very high awareness levels, as indicated by persistent and consistent use of a racial frame of reference having its inception previous to priming by the examiner. However, the children in the current study exhibited a greater amount of tension, especially of resistance implying a greater amount of hesitancy on the part of these children to discuss matters of race.

It is most significant to note, then, the great amount of similarity between the three groups. While it was found that fewer children from interracial neighborhoods expressed verbal hostility toward blacks, the presence of tension, stereotyping and preference for being white appeared similar across groups. The fact that a difference in expressed hostility between groups was shown to be statistically significant should not becloud the fact that most middle-class white five-year-olds, regardless of home or school environment, have absorbed most of the perceptions, attitudes, and biases pertaining to blacks which have characterized the WASP milieu and have formed the stumbling block barring interracial harmony for so many generations.

More positively, however, the relationship between expressed prejudice and behavior in the classroom was not clearly demonstrated. The small size of the sample, plus the interplay of personality and social factors, make the drawing of definite conclusions impossible. The observation that behavioral prejudice does not always correspond with verbal prejudice is supported by the research. Georgeoff and Paterson (1965), using sociometric data to discover racial cleavages in integrated classrooms, found that children in grades one and two (the youngest in their sample) were less influenced by prejudice about race in making social choices than are older children. Goodman (1964), using four-year-olds to illustrate, offered some possible reasons why verbal and behavioral prejudice do not always coincide. Even at four she found that some children were reticent about acting out prejudicial attitudes in public. Children in a school setting, she found, may create "superordinate goals" or shared interests, and in working together on these interests, matters of race become of less importance. This was suggested by Allport as a most important factor tending to reduce prejudice. In addition, stated Goodman, while matters of race may be very important in dealing with lifeless dolls and pictures

in the test situation, it is not as important a consideration in the "perceptual field," or the classroom, where the young child is in contact with live persons with distinct personalities.

Recommendations for Further Study

The shortcomings of the present investigation point up the need for further research into the following areas: To what extent do verbally expressed attitudes coincide with behavior? To what extent are racial prejudices in kindergarten children rigid and fixed, and to what extent can they be significantly altered? What sort of programs and activities would be best suited to the effort to develop more positive behaviorally reflected racial attitudes in young children? In addition, it would be useful if more consideration were placed on the personalities of the children involved in such studies. And finally, similar studies should be conducted with black children to determine the effects of varying types and extent of interracial contact on their attitudes and behavior.

References

Abel, H., & Sahinkaya, R. Emergence of sex and race friendship preferences. Child Development, 1962, 33(4), 939-943.

Allport, G. The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954.

Clark, K. Prejudice and your child. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

Facen, G. Determination of the degree of tension produced in white students when presented with certain materials regarding Negroes. Journal of Educational Research, 1962, 55(7), 307-311.

Georgeoff, J., & Paterson, J. Cleavages in integrated classrooms. Teachers College Journal of Indiana State University, 1965, 37(2), 76-83.

Goodman, M. Race awareness in young children. New York: Collier Books, 1964.

Landreth, C., & Johnson, B. C. Young children's responses to a picture and inset test designed to reveal reactions to persons of different skin color. Child Development, 1953, 24(1), 63-79.

Reddick, L. D. What now do we learn of race and minority peoples? Journal of Negro Education, 1965, 34(3), 367-379.

Stevenson, H., & Stewart, E. C. A developmental study of racial awareness in young children. Child Development, 1958, 29(13), 399-407.

Trager, H., & Radke-Yarrow, M. They learn what they live: Prejudice in young children. New York: Harper and Bros., 1952.

Webster, S. W. The influence of interracial contact on social acceptance in a newly integrated school. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1961, 52(6), 292-296.

Williams, J. E., & Roberson, J. K. A method for assessing racial attitudes in preschool children. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 1967, 27, 671-689.

Wilson, W. C. Imitation and the learning of incidental cues by preschool children. Child Development, 1958, 29(3), 393-397.

Footnotes

[1]This investigation was completed while the author was a graduate student at Newark State College, Union, New Jersey. The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of John Dixon, who made the water color drawings; the Misses Shelley Cohen and Ann Marie Spitz, who conducted some of the interviews; and Mrs. Adele Schulley, Edward Chittenden, Adam Scrupski, and Samuel Barnett, who gave helpful reviews of an earlier version of this manuscript. Author's present address: Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey.

[2]Questions used by permission of the publisher, Harper & Row.

[3]The term "colored," rather than "Negro" or "black" was used by the examiner, since this was found to be the most common term used by nontarget white children from the same classrooms in their elicited comments about the pictures and in spontaneous classroom conversations. This finding agrees with Williams and Roberson's (1967) study of white preschoolers.

Table 1

Instances of Observable Tension

	Group A (n = 15)	Group B (n = 25)	Group C (n = 9)	Total (N = 49)
Part I Race Barrier				
Number of Incidents	17	37	13	67
Number of Children	11	17	6	34
Part II Neutral Picture				
Number of Incidents	2	3	0	5
Number of Children	2	3	0	5
Part III Race Non-Barrier				
Number of Incidents	8	10	4	22
Number of Children	7	8	3	18
Total Number of Incidents	27	50	17	94
Total Number of Children	11	20	8	39
Percentage of Total Sample	73.3	80.0	88.9	79.7

Table 2

Use of Stereotypes

Stereotypes	Number of Children Expressing			Total No. Children
	Group A	Group B	Group C	
Aggressive	3	3	2	8
Troublesome, mean	1	1	3	5
Angry, mad		3	1	4
Black (negative)	2	1		3
Un-American	1	2		3
Dirty	2			2
Cursing			1	1
Total No. Children	9	10	7	26
Percentage of Sample	60.0	40.0	77.8	53.1

Table 3

Responses to Whether Black Child Is Glad He's Colored

	Yes		No		Don't Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Group A						
Barrier (I)	8	53	4	27	3	20
Non-Barrier (III)	8	53	3	20	4	27
Group B						
Barrier (I)	13	52	6	24	6	24
Non-Barrier (III)	15	60	6	24	3	12
Group C						
Barrier (I)	3	33	4	44	1	11
Non-Barrier (III)	4	44	4	44	2	22
Total						
Barrier (I)	24	49	14	29	10	20
Non-Barrier (III)	27	56	13	27	9	19

Table 4

Verbal Expressions of Rejection

	Part I Race Barrier Picture				Part III Race Non-Barrier Picture				Part IV Questionnaire			
	Subjects		Hostile Responses		Subjects		Hostile Responses		Subjects		Hostile Responses	
	n	%	n	$\bar{X}$ per S	n	%	n	$\bar{X}$ per S	n	%	n	$\bar{X}$ per S
Group A (n = 15)	11	73.3	21	1.8	4	26.7	5	1.2	11	73.3	14	1.3
Group B (n = 25)	17	68.0	42	2.5	5	20.9	5	1.0	15	62.5	24	1.6
Group C (n = 9)	6	66.7	19	3.1	2	22.2	2	1.0	3	33.3	5	1.7
Total (N = 49)	34	69.5	82	2.4	11	22.9	12	1.1	29	60.5	43	1.5